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ABSTRACT

The document presents major themes from a three-day symposium of immigrant and Swedish parents, teachers, teacher trainers, cultural workers, researchers, and government civil servants which explored the function of the home and parents in an intercultural society. The first three sections outline the relationship of the symposium to a pilot project coordinated by the Swedish National Parent-School Association which embraces the themes of the Council of Europe Project No. 7, entitled "The Education and Cultural Development of Migrants." Section IV explores the heterogeneous composition of Sweden's population, which increased 45% by immigration from 1944-1976. Section V reviews Sweden's formal and informal immigration policy. Section VI traces the position of immigrants with the National Parent-School Association. The next section addresses parents' questions about bilingualism and multiculturalism. Section VIII summarizes symposium themes into the statement that multiculturalism is an enriching and holistic experience. Section IV considers active bilingualism as an educational objective in Sweden and lists factors challenging the attainment of this goal. Section X describes a videotape, filmed from the perspective of immigrants as they react to linguistic situations. The final section includes the symposium program and list of participants. (NEC)

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The CDCC's Project No. 7 :

"The education and cultural development of migrants"

THE FUNCTION OF HOME AND PARENTS IN AN INTERCULTURAL SOCIETY

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COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION
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STRASBOURG
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The CDCC's Project No. 7:

"The education and cultural development of migrants"

"THE FUNCTION OF HOME AND PARENTS IN AN INTERCULTURAL SOCIETY"

Report on a pilot project sponsored by the Council of Europe and the Swedish National Parent-School Association

by

SUSAN OPPER

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THE FUNCTION OF HOME AND PARENTS IN AN INTERCULTURAL SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION TO A SWEDISH PILOT PROJECT

During Novembe 1984, the Swedish National Parent-School Association assembled a group of immigrant and Swedish parents, teachers and teacher trainers, cultural workers, researchers and government civil servants at a relatively isolated residential conference centre approximately one-half hour from the heart of Stockholm. For three days and two nights, these participants from all over Sweden explored "The function of the home and parents in an intercultural society"; and they discussed how school, home and organisations such as the Parent-School Association and immigrant associations might best work together to use multiculturalism (1) as a positive and enriching resource.

Participants were particularly requested to criticise a videotape "Our children and their languages", then being produced under leadership of the Parent-School Association. When finished (by early 1985), this would be supplemented with a handbook and the package would be offered as a study aid to help parents, children, teache and others make decisions related to questions of linguistic and perceptual development and the importance of children's facility in their home language for the development of their identity and self-respect.

Both symposium and study materials are part of a Swedish pilot project carried out in co-operation with the Council of Europe. This report highlights how the Swedish efforts so far have been able to activate people to take hold of the contradictions, the uncertainties, the utopianism, the sensitive personal and political issues - yet the unavoidable reality of multiculturalism in and around the schools.

II. COUNCIL OF EUROPE PROJECT NO. 7

The Swedish project was launched in full acceptance of the principles which form terms of reference for Project No. 7 within the Council for Cultura Co-operation of the Council of Europe entitled "The education and cultural development of migrants" Project No. 7 is characterised by the following:

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(1) Stated most simply, multiculturalism is a situation, a moment in time, in which a multiplicity of cultural differences are present.

It must be acknowledged that even though the names of the symposium speakers are not always mentioned, they have influenced the way in which the current author has recaptured the content of the Swedish pilot project as it was presented primarily during the symposium.

- The subject is education and culture, and not just one of the two.

- The scope embraces adults and children.

- The basic option is for the intercultural approach, which is a result of four elements:

  - most of our societies have become more and more multicultural;

  - each culture has its own specific charcterisations which are worthy of respect;

  - multiculturalism is a potential source of enrichment and in reality must be characterised by successful communication and interaction between all cultures concerned without denying the specific identity of any. The multicultural situation must be truly intercultural, with all the dynamism this implies.

As the term "multiculturalism" has been used by researchers and in the general social debate in recent years, it has usually referred to the influence of the culture of origin of immigrants and the host culture on each other. The interest is not only in immigrant children and their ability to cope with their situation as migrants, but also in the native children and their ability to benefit from multicultural reality (1). It is not possible to describe or assess a cultural situation once and for all, for culture is a structure built upon occurrences in space: elements of individual, family, and/or community history. It follows that culture involves a reinterpretation of cognitive, normative, affective, esthetic, behavioural components and the building of a construct in which the people concerned can recognise themselves: identity. The latter has psychological (self-image), sociological (family, group membership), and political (ethnicity, solidarity around certain ideologies) meaning (2).

The Council of Europe advocates working out immigrants' and natives' schemes of interpretation, expression and cultural orientation as each change. This is the perspective in which "interculturalism" is cast. It concentrates neither on differences nor on the need to assimilate minority into mainstream practices. Rather, cultural differences and

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(1) Council for Cultural Co-operation. Education of migrants' children: Compendium of information on intercultural education schemes in Europe. (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 10 August 1983), p. 3.

(2) Matéo Alaluf. "Migrant culture and culture of origin", The CDCC's Project No. 7 "The education and cultural development of migrants". (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 20 April 1982), pp. 4, 24.

comparable social conditions are taken as the basis for seeking mutual understanding and interchange, and breaking down the barriers between the various communities, including the native communities (1). History of immigration and its current social aspects as well as the history and current social aspects of the country of origin and the host country should all be considered (2).

The Council of Europe explains that:

> "... interculturalism is not an end in itself. It is mainly a tool to be used in promoting equality of chances and an optimum integration into social and economic life ... the greatest danger lies in mere juxtaposition, and therefore isolation and mutual ignorance. Priority must therefore be given to links, connections, relations and borderline or contact areas. Three themes are therefore chosen:
>
> - links between the school and family institutions;
> - links between school culture and out-of-school culture;
> - links between child education and adult education." (3)

Within Project No. 7, four methods of work have been adopted to combine theory and practice around the above themes. In short, these methods include:

- Case studies: 16 case studies of experiments or developments carried out by 12 experts, according to pre-determined specifications for subsequent cross-case comparison of results;
- Visits: Selected in a similar way to case studies, but conducted by teams and documented by a single rapporteur: visits alternate between host countries and countries of origin (for immigrants);
- Studies: Experts commissioned from various disciplines to consider particularly obscure but apparently central topics such as "migrant cultures". Topics are researched by experts in host countries as well as countries of origin. Texts drafted by experts are debated by the project group;
- Practical exercises: In form of training and activation courses to put the project's work into concrete form (4).

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(1) "Migrant culture and culture of origin", p. 11

(2) "Migrant culture and culture of origin", p. 12.

(3) Louis Porcher. Interim report of the project group to the CDCC. Council for Cultural Co-operation. Project No. 7. "The education and cultural development of migrants". (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 5 December 1983), pp. 1-2.

(4) Porcher. Interim report, pp. 1-2.

The Swedish pilot project closely resembles a practical exercise as described above. It embraces all three themes adopted by the Council of Europe, in no small measure aided by the fact that its sponsorship and co-ordination rested with the Swedish National Parent-School Association.

III. SWEDISH NATIONAL PARENT-SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

The National Parent-School Association is a politically and religiously independent organisation made up of 300,000 families. These are paying members dispersed among 27 parent-school districts in Sweden, which are further broken down into 1,965 local associations. The local associations elect the 150 representatives in the national assembly.

The national assembly has drawn up and passed a plan of action for school and family affairs. The plan is pupil-oriented, and it spells out guidelines for work to be carried out nationally as well as locally. The association acknowledges that the home does - and should - bear primary responsibility for the child. Nevertheless, while the home is accorded primary responsibility, many aspects are shared with the school. To exemplify, children's fundamental linguistic and cultural development is a process which starts long before they become part of the educational system. Once enrolled, children are beneficiaries of a curriculum for primary and middle school which stipulates that the school should actively preserve the cultural traditions of the pupils' homes (1). At the same time, the school is to prepare each pupil to participate successfully in a society which is marked by many cultural traditions other than his or her own.

The aim of the National Parent-School Association therefore is to facilitate parents' co-operation with the school and other relevant authorities and interest groups to build up a secure, qualitatively sound environment in which the pupil may develop through childhood and adolescence (2). We will return to this point in Section VI, below. First let us establish why the situation in Sweden is indeed a relevant point of comparison for other countries seeking ways to promote solidarity among and within their majority and minority populations (3).

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(1) Skolöverstyrelsen (Swedish National Board of Education). Läroplan för grundskolan. Allmän del. Mål och riktlinjer, kursplaner, timplaner. (Comprehensive school curriculum. General. Goals and guidelines. Course outlines. Schedules.) (Stockholm: Liber. 1980), p. 14.

(2) Bengt Andersson and Raija Engman. "Description of proposed symposium within the framework of Project No. 7 'The home, its function in an intercultural society'". (Stockholm: National Parent-School Association, 12 March 1984), p. 1.

(3) For an overview of current and prospective cultural diversity in Europe, as a consequence of the interaction of (a) majority cultures of very long established populations, (b) minority cultures of recent immigrants, and (c) minority cultures of second and third generation immigrants, see report compiled by Micheline Rey. "Colloquy on 'Migrant culture in a changing society. Multicultural Europe by the year 2000'. Strasbourg 18-20 January 1983." (Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Council for Cultural Co-operation, School Education Division 1983).

IV. HETEROGENEOUS SWEDEN

It is not uncommon to find that many people who live outside Scandinavia conceptualise Sweden as being a country of one language, one race and one religion. The current composition is actually dramatically different on all counts.

Sweden has been an immigrant country since 1930. During 1851-1930, 1.5 million Swedes had left their homeland in search of a better life, almost exclusively in the USA. By the 1930's, many of these Swedish-Americans were returning to Sweden. In the 1940's immigration accelerated because of the influx of political refugees, notably from the Baltic States. Labour force immigration marked the 1950's and continued until a peak at the end of the 1960's. Despite the fact that Swedish industry recruited energetically in countries such as Greece, the largest group of immigrants seeking work in Sweden came from other Nordic countries. Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden have had a common labour market since 1954.

Political refugees from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, countries in Africa and more recently from Asia and Latin America augmented labour force immigration in the 1950's - 1960's, and continued into the 1970's after the number of people coming primarily to find work in Sweden slackened considerably. In 1967, Sweden passed a law that required all non-Nordic citizens to have procured work permits and accommodation before entering Sweden. Labour force immigration came to a near halt in 1971 as labour unions became restrictive with work permits.

The combined impact of these post-war trends in immigration was such that by 1975, out of a total population of 8.2 million in Sweden, 550,451 had been born in other countries. Second generation immigrants - children born of immigrant parents in Sweden - are not included in this figure. Combining second generation immigrants with the group born outside Sweden would yield a total immigrant population of approximately one million. However, one might ask why second generation immigrants are not just as much "Swedish" as they are "immigrant". The situation is even more complicated in that many, particularly second generation, immigrants are children of marriages where one of the parents is immigrant, the other Swedish. It is estimated that in 1982, 44% of all immigrant children came from such homes, whereas 30% were from families where both parents were immigrants. Children living with single parents are not included in these statistics (1).

An even more perplexing question is "What is Swedish?" Viewed from an appropriately long historical perspective, most aspects of Swedish culture - even its Lutheranism - have been imported. In the study materials accompanying the videotape, Umeå University researcher Henning Johansson has brought to life the evolution of Sweden's demographic and cultural map over the centuries.

It has been estimated that in the near future, every family tree in Sweden will include at least one member who was a postwar immigrant. The consequences of this social movement are already interesting. Information provided by the Swedish National Bureau of Statistics indicates that Sweden's total population would have been approximately 760,000 people less if the country had not experienced tremendous immigration after 1944.

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(1) These figures are from Lenore Arnberg's presentation during the November symposium.

Stated in another way, immigration has resulted in a 45% increase in the Swedish population between 1944-76 (1). Between 1976-79, foreign citizens in Sweden were responsible for the fact that Sweden's population was able to increase at all since Swedes exhibited a negative birth/death ratio. This presents a strong argument for devising ways by which to cope constructively with immigrants in Sweden for the good of the whole country. It may also help explain why in Sweden one hears the term "immigrant", in contrast to "migrant worker", the predominant term in many parts of Europe. Sweden's official policies with respect to immigrants treat the latter as if they have come to stay.

V. SWEDEN'S IMMIGRANT POLICY: FORMAL AND INFORMAL

Kjell Oberg has been a central figure in the evolution of Sweden's immigrant policies over the past 20 years. He has directed a number of official investigations commissioned by parliament. The latest commissioned in 1978, focused on discrimination among folk groups in Sweden (2). Oberg was appointed director of the National Board of Immigration and Naturalisation when it was first established in 1969.

During the November 1984 symposium, Oberg recalled how Sweden had received television and a marked increase in the number of immigrants at about the same time, during the later 1950's - early 1960's. In his judgement, television has so far been more successful in changing Swedish lifestyles, than have the new traditions and behaviours brought into the country by immigrants. This notwithstanding, Oberg found when he replicated a 1969 investigation 12 years later, that Swedes' attitudes toward immigrants had changed significantly, and in a positive direction. When Prof. Arne Trankell first conducted this study in 1969, he found that 26% of the Swedes he sampled admitted to having strong fears of immigrants. Half the group reported they were "rather" fearful, while 27% claimed they felt no fear at all. Trankell also found that 17% of his sample were strongly opposed to immigration into their country, 56% were "rather" opposed, and 27% were not opposed at all.

When Oberg's commission on discrimination replicated Trankell's survey in 1981, they obtained the following results (presented here in comparison with the 1969 findings): (3)

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(1) Statens Invandrarverk (National Board of Immigration and Naturalisation) (1980) Dokumentation. Statistik om invandring och invandrare (Statistics on Migration and Immigrants), p. 9.

(2) Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet (Swedish Ministry of Labour). Diskrimineringsutredningen (Parliamentary Commission on Discrimination).

(3) A more detailed description of this longitudinal survey is contained within one of the Discrimination Commission's reports, "Invandrarna i svenskarnas ögon" ("Immigrants viewed thorugh Swedish eyes"). DsA 1982:6.

FEAR OF IMMIGRANTS

	1969	1981
Not at all fearful	24%	50%
Rather fearful	50%	43%
Strongly fearful	26%	6%

OPPOSITION TO IMMIGRATION

	1969	1981
Not at all opposed	27%	57%
Rather opposed	56%	40%
Strongly opposed	17%	3%

Both fear of and opposition to immigrants had receded markedly. This is very striking evidence, considering the direction of major economic trends during the same period. At the end of the 1960's, the Swedish economy was booming and work was plentiful. By the beginning of the 1980's, the Swedish economy was considerably more strained by inflation and an unfavourable import/export balance. Unemployment was high, and one would have been justified in expecting a less generous attitude toward providing jobs and social assistance to immigrants.

If Swedes actually had become more tolerant of immigrants by 1981, what might have influenced their thinking? Oberg identified two factors likely to have played important roles:

- Contact with immigrants through one's own family tree, and

- Education: not so much its content but the fact that more of it was had by a larger share of the population, as a result of the nine-year compulsory, comprehensive school ushered in during the 1950's - 1960's.

Officially Sweden's general objective is to create a society in which people take mutual responsibility for each other and where solidarity and the spirit of community are an integral part of everyday life. This is also the message of Sweden's official stance towards immigrants, a policy built around three corner-stones:

- Minorities should have the same rights and opportunities as the rest of the population.

- Immigrants themselves are to choose whether they want to maintain their cultural and linguistic identities or to assume Swedish identity.

- Minority and majority populations - within and among themselves - should strive towards mutual understanding, tolerance and solidarity to arrive at decisions in the best interest of all.

Oberg cautions that this harmonious perspective is utopian, although typical of the spirit of compromise which has pervaded Sweden since the 1930's. In Oberg's opinion, in order for this democratic equality to be

a relevant approach for immigrant-majority population relations, the status of immigrants in Swedish society must be enhanced; brought up to par with that of the majority population in terms of respect commanded. To put it bluntly, as long as the majority population does not allow immigrants to live according to their own choice, immigrants in effect have no choice. As the commission on discrimination was able to detect, good intentions of policy pronouncements have often been counteracted nebulously and indirectly by a general ambivalence to strengthening and maintaining the various family traditions of immigrants; and directly by, for example, a legal system with loopholes which allow for nonpreferential treatment of immigrant cases. Immigrants are still too often accorded "zero" status.

VI. IMMIGRANTS AND THE NATIONAL PARENT-SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

Mai Beijer further illustrated Oberg's point about the conferment of "zero" status. She began gently at first, by referring to missionary activities in (from the Swedish perspective) distant Africa. Soon, however, she shifted to focus squarely upon Swedish daily life, and in particular selected activities which were sponsored through the years by the Parent-School Association.

Mai recalled that in a book by Bishop Kibira from Bukoba, Tanzania, the author posited that the tribe was something of which christian missionaries took no heed. Instead, the eager foreigners seemed to take for granted that the Africans they met were "empty barrels", "clean slates", people with "zero" status who were to be filled with the teachings of Christ in order to give meaning to their lives.

Shift to contemporary Sweden. Mai described a female friend from Eritrea. During her student days, this friend had been an accomplished soccer player in Addis Abbaba. After having emigrated to Sweden, she was ascribed the role of suppressed African woman. She had completed medical studies before moving to Sweden. Granted, these were not exactly similar to Swedish medical training, but in Sweden she was not considered qualified to be a nurse or to hold any other job in a hospital.

Looking back on Sweden's reception of immigrants over the past 20 years, Mai discerned a pattern of increasing understanding and competence which has unfolded in several phases. This has marked society at large, as well as the educational system, "and the National Parent-School Association has been no better, no worse than the norm".

The first phase, beginning in the mid-60's, was a time of information dissemination: information for immigrants on "how we do things in Sweden"; information for Swedes on immigrants, "this is what they are like". The Parent-School Association played its part in producing an information brochure for Swedish parents to inform them about "the new Swedes".

Activities during the 1970's were different in that they aimed to involve immigrants in mainstream practices and activities. The Parent-School Association tried to interest immigrant parents in the association's meetings. It also circulated reminders to the schools concerning provision of interpretation facilities during parent-teacher conferences. The association reminded parents and school personnel that they could gather together informally to learn about each other as they sampled "immigrant" and "Swedish" food. There were many more activities as well, but Mai noticed that it was not always easy to convince immigrant parents they should participate, even when the Swedes were willing.

The third phase at the end of the 1970's brought a real crisis. The association received word that a number of independent Finnish parent-school associations were not interested in belonging to the National Association. What was it about the latter which made its work appear so irrelevant to the concerns of a very sizeable segment of the parents of children in Swedish schools? An investigation was undertaken, and as a result of this and additional means by which immigrant parents were consulted, the association was able to learn why these people felt so alienated from Swedish schools. It was found, for example, that Swedish parents and teachers were prone to talk at length about end-of-the-year retreats and grilling hotdogs, while immigrant parents were more worried about whether instruction in their children's home language would be reorganised or cancelled altogether once school started up again in the fall. Swedish parents and teachers debated whether children should be present while teachers met with parents to discuss pupils' progress. Immigrant parents were more concerned about whether teachers would be fair in assigning marks to immigrant pupils for the latter's accomplishments in Swedish language courses, when there were Swedish pupils in these classes as well.

Reinforced by the Swedish National Board of Education, the Parent-School Association developed a new brochure (1) to provide information on compulsory schooling in Sweden, particularly to ensure that the types of questions immigrant parents were posing were addressed.

It is understood that the brochure should be studied during Parent-School Association and other school meetings. Immigrant parents are to be given the opportunity to discuss the Swedish materials in their own language. All 25,000 copies of the brochure had been distributed within a few months of its publication.

The association distributes other information sheets and guidelines for various programmes of action (2). In all, the association produces materials in 10 of the most common languages spoken by immigrants in Sweden, and its central staff now includes a person who works exclusively with matters related to education and information, for and about immigrants.

Through these channels, immigrant parents not only become informed but may also express their opinions to improve the activities of the Parent-School Association and to change Swedish schooling in general. Their knowledge and experience of education in different countries lend necessary contrastive analysis for assessing practices in Sweden. Aspects of this experience were vividly illustrated in Mai's concluding slides picturing school smocks and pupil-peer monitors in Turkey, a physics theory lesson in Yugoslavia, a language laboratory in the US, the American flag and a portrait of Tito inspiring conscientious studies from US and Yugoslavian pupils, respectively.

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(1) Swedish National Parent-School Association. Våra barn och skolan. (Our children and the school). (Stockholm: Norstedts Tryckeri, 1983).

(2) For example, "Invandrarfrågor" (Issues for and about immigrants), and guidelines for a programme of action "Eleven i centrum" (Focus on the pupil).

VII. MANY QUESTIONS

Parents are decisive in supporting and enriching children's linguistic and perceptual development during the pre-school and school years so that children with a minority language or culture are given positive ties to two languages and two cultures; rather than being led to feel they belong to no group at all. Whether parents carry over habits and the language from the country they left as a mechanism to isolate themselves from the people and traditions of the new, or whether parents overcompensate and suppress as best they can all traces of the former homeland in favour of the new, or whether parents can integrate traditions from both sides, will affect their children's ability to live in two cultures (1).

Parental support is also decisive in guiding both minority and majority children to appreciate why and how they should strive for mutual understanding, tolerance and solidarity. But however decisive, it is not only the attitude of the parents, but also that of the environment which is important in children's search for personal and group identity. This having been said, what should be done? Despite the amount of attention such topics have received in recent years, the accretion of accumulated knowledge about biculturalism and bilingualism tends to inspire more confusion than certainty.

- How are parents to know which way is best for working with the school to shape their child's identity?

- How are parents to judge the role that the mother tongue may play in this evolution of identity and self-respect?

- How are parents to understand the development of a "weaker" language (from passive comprehension to active use) so they do not give up too early in nurturing their children's bilingualism?

- How are majority parents to cultivate their children's ability to work with people from cultural backgrounds other than their own?

The videotape and supporting materials of the Swedish pilot project are designed to help parents, pupils and the school overcome their confusion and make well-founded decisions in answering questions of the type posed above. The rationale for selecting the particular content of these study materials will be apparent after the reader is made more familiar with the context of deliberations in Sweden over provision of mother tongue instruction for immigrant children and youth. This is spelled out in a following section by university of Gothenburg researcher Gunnar Tingbjörn. Setting the stage for Tingbjörn's presentation, we first review highlights of the remaining themes treated during the November symposium.

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(1) These coping strategies were outlined in Lenore Arnberg's presentation.

VIII. MULTICULTURALISM AS AN ENRICHING AND HOLISTIC EXPERIENCE: A SUMMARY OF SYMPOSIUM THEMES

Mai Beijer had stressed that contact with several different cultures - even living simultaneously in two cultures - was an enriching experience. This was also mentioned by National Board of Education representative Bertil Jakobsson as he reviewed the objectives of the Council of Europe's Project No. 7. University of Stockholm researcher Lenore Arnberg mentioned the same theme when she insisted one must focus on the positive aspects of an immigrant child's life. For example growing up in two cultures can strengthen a child's independence and self-reliance. University of Umeå researcher Henning Johansson admitted somewhat later in his presentation that he believed so strongly in the positive consequences of intercultural communication that he would advocate placing "100% Swedish" pupils in the same classrooms with immigrants.

It is important to recognise that this widespread support of multiculturalism is based on the premise that communication between cultures must be active, to the extent that interactions are truly stimulating and dynamic. One hardly understands other cultures from passively receiving the verbal descriptions of experts. Nor are the latter particularly suitable for provoking critical analysis of one's own culture, in a contrastive perspective.

Dynamism can be explosive. How does one control it, at least to draw upon it as a constructive resource? Lenore Arnberg reminded the group that there were no established norms for people who belong to two cultures. Mai Beijer, Kjell Oberg and Bertil Jakobsson all advised focusing on similarities more than differences among cultures, in a multicultural situation. But immigrant parent Jacqueline Garefelt's concrete illustrations were powerful in illustrating how difficult it could be to find meaningful similarities among cultures; meaningful to the extent that one treated beliefs and behaviours which were grounded in the values and attitudes which truly shaped the ways in which people gave content to common pillars in life; provision (through work), care (of young, old, sick), beliefs (taught by parents, schools, religion), and reproduction of the species. The problem with focusing on similarities is that one often tends to emphasise less fundamental, superficial aspects of a culture. Food habits may be taken as an example.

Seeking to avoid superficiality, Eva Sternberg, president of the National Parent-School Association, demonstrated an anthropological technique which helps to delineate value systems which influence predominant behaviours in a particular cultural group. With this approach, one asks people to describe their thoughts about life before birth, as well as life after death. According to Sternberg, Swedes' responses most often indicate that they attach little or no value to life before birth, nor to life after death. Readiness to accept abortion and to help the sick and/or old to die by removing medical life support systems, while not unanimous, do mark Swedish society and only accentuate this apparent proclivity to view the active, young adult years as the period of greatest value. Priority is subsequently attached to money and to occupational status. A 35-40 year old male, born in Sweden, educated as a civil engineer epitomises "success", according to the value system in industrialised Sweden. In that context, children, females, and people approaching their

mid-50's have little value. In other words, the predominance of this configuration of values induces the majority of the population to be depressed because they have the wrong education, are of the wrong sex, have attained the wrong position in the wrong job and/or are of the wrong age.

At the same time, Sternberg insists that Swedish culture has always been marked by deep-rooted beliefs in the importance of peace, of sharing equally, of guaranteeing fair treatment for all and of developing and living according to one's conscience. These values highlight solidarity and co-operation across cultural, age, sex etc categories, and in this respect are not compatible with the more restricted view outlined in the previous paragraph. In Sternberg's opinion, one of the significant contributions of immigrants in Sweden is that they tend to strengthen propensity to value the entire human life cycle, as it is lived in a number of different ways with respect to work and education. It was emphasised in the introductory portions of this report, however, that such schemes as these for the interpretation and expression of cultural orientation must be continually adjusted as immigrant and native Swede interact. Culture is not static, and it is borne forward by people. Immigrant children - first, second, third generation - live in a crucial crossroad. Majority children should as well.

Thinking primarily about immigrant children, Jacqueline Garefelt petitioned for helping them develop "bi-cultural competence". Parents and school should assist by pointing out the fundamental characteristics of the two cultures in which children live, and explaining how they came to be that way. Garefelt maintained, however, that children should have a single, rather than a fragmented, identity.

Henning Johansson revealed how difficult it could be to discern how various cultural characteristics, attitudes in particular, may have been formed. To explain this point, he recalled how a wave of Swedish nationalism in the 17th century had been coloured by Uppsala's renaissance man Olof Rydbeck's misinformation concerning the lost settlement of Atlantis. According to Rydbeck, Atlantis had not sunk into the sea; people had simply forgotten than it existed since it was located so far to the north. Atlantis was Sweden, and its pygmies were the Same (Lapp) people.

This story may appear amusing and harmless, but Johansson was sensitive to the more serious repercussions it may have had, to the extent that natural scientists 200 years later, when measuring the size of skulls in Sweden, suggested that the smaller the skull, the more limited the intelligence. As proof, they offered the example of the Same people whose skulls were the most diminutive. Was it really so strange, then, that Johansson, with his Finnish/Same background was punished as a youth if he was caught speaking either of his minority languages instead of the official Swedish in school?

Values are attributed to language in a way which cannot be described totally in words. Language is not only a tool for communication. Speaking the "right" language may afford power to the

speaker, particularly if he or she speaks Swedish in Sweden, in a group where recently arrived immigrants are also trying to make themselves heard. However, Johansson would not agree that there is any natural law which guarantees minority groups will always lose when majority and minority cultures meet. The majority cannot control everything, cannot see everything which goes on.

It cannot be denied that many people with a Finnish-Swedish background do not look upon this with pride, and that they often find their situation described in negative terms by researchers who speak of "linguistically deprived" situations. With which kinds of social (role) models do researchers, teachers, and parents present children? In what are these models anchored, culturally?

Johansson studied some of the factors which made up his own school environment as a boy. In so doing, he discovered that the books his teachers studied during pre-service training were printed in the mid-30's. The books were probably written at the beginning of that decade, when the authors were under the influence of research conducted in the 1920's. According to Johansson's interpretation, the predominant view among linguists at that time was that students were empty containers, to be filled with "proper" (= Swedish) language. If the instructors allowed a second language to be "poured" into the student - for example, one of Johansson's minority languages - a part of the proper Swedish would spill out. Under such conditions, bilingualism could hardly have been an educational objective.

But why was Johansson punished? Psychological research from the same period as his own school days adopted a pavlovian approach to effective teaching: give the dog a sugar cube if it sits right; punish the dog if it does not. The behaviour exhibited by Johansson's teachers was consistent with findings at the cutting edge of then contemporary research.

Johansson has also worked with similar issues in the educational context of the 1980's. He conducted research in the north-western corner of Sweden known as the Torne River Valley, an area far removed from Stockholm, lying close to the Finnish border; an area which is also home for a large portion of the Same people. Same, Finnish and Swedish are spoken in this valley. Educational policy, however, has not supported multilingualism or even bilingualism in the schools. It had been shown that Finnish children in the area had had a lower achievement in Swedish, as documented by standardised tests, than the national average. Many blamed the Finnish children's bilingualism. Consequently they were prevented from speaking Finnish at school, upon the assumption that this would encourage them to learn Swedish better and faster. In other words, one aimed to improve the Finns' capability to speak Swedish by forcing them to have as "Swedish" an environment as possible.

To test the validity of this practice, Johansson experimented with an alternative approach. He chose a random sample of four classrooms in different school districts and instructed teachers to take the pupils' own backgrounds as the point of departure in their teaching. During the first three years of school, the children learned about their "own" history. For example, they visited their parents' and other local places of work and learned how these occupations had evolved in the Torne Valley

area. In school, pupils sang songs they knew from their own family and cultural backgrounds - Finnish, Same as well as Swedish. The songs were sung in their original languages, in whichever order evolved most naturally. This was carried over into other instructional settings as well. The language primarily used in instruction remained Swedish, but the children were allowed to speak whichever came most naturally for them. Teachers who spoke either Swedish, Finnish or Same - or combinations of two or three - worked side by side in the same classroom.

Pupils were studied through observations and interviews; and their achievement in various subjects was tested and compared with that of students outside the experimental classrooms. It was found that already after one year, the experimental groups' parents were more willing to accept their children's bilingualism than they had been at that point when their children started school. Many parents said they had earlier refrained from speaking (their native) Finnish at home because their children could not understand it. After a year in the experiment, many of the pupils from these families appeared able at least to understand Finnish when it was spoken around them, even though the children did not speak it themselves.

What is more, after three years, results on standardised tests revealed that the experimental groups were better in mathematics than other pupils in the same geographical area who had not participated in the multilingual experiment. However, the achievement level of the experimental groups was still lower in mathematics than the national average for pupils their age. The experimental groups' achievement in Swedish was higher than that of other pupils in the same valley area and, surprisingly, in some cases pupils in the experimental groups did better in Swedish than the national average!

There are several lessons which can be learned from Johansson's experiment. One is that it must be the school which is handicapped if it cannot take advantage and build upon the different cultural backgrounds represented by its pupils. It is not the pupils who are handicapped because of their cultural differences.

Another point that has been brought out is that teachers do exert considerable influence upon the attitudes and beliefs of their pupils. For this reason, Johansson insists it is imperative that teachers continually assess not only the content of their instruction, but also its delivery. In Sweden, the general curricular objectives as well as the organisation of studies into a certain number and type of courses per day and per year are stipulated in national curricular guidelines. Nevertheless, teachers either individually or in teams enjoy considerable responsibility for determining the final delivery of instruction.

In Johansson's opinion, teachers would be better supported in their local research and development work if researchers also to a greater extent focused their attention on curricular content, rather than upon organisational and structural aspects of schooling. He noted that the three organisational issues which have most occupied researchers with respect to the education of children who speak another language than Swedish at home are the following:

- For what percentage of time should immigrant children receive instruction in Swedish, versus percentage of time they should receive instruction in their respective mother tongues?

- How should instructional groups be composed when Swedish and immigrant children are present in the same school: homogeneously or heterogeneously according to language group?

- For what percentage of the school week should immigrant children receive instruction in their respective mother tongues?

These issues were further developed by Gunnar Tingbjörn as he assessed the possibility that immigrant children would achieve bilingualism while attending Swedish schools.

IX. ACTIVE BILINGUALISM AS AN EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVE IN SWEDEN

Distribution of immigrant pupils in Swedish schools

Sweden's sizeable immigrant population (see earlier section of this report) is unevenly distributed. Geographically, there are major concentrations of immigrants in the three urban areas of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, all of which are located in the southern third of the country (1). In addition, in the extreme northern part, there are high percentages of the country's most long-standing minorities, the Same (Lapps) and Finnish-speaking Swedes.

The age of Sweden's immigrant population is also uneven, since the largest group of foreign citizens is comprised of children and adults under 40. The consequences for the Swedish educational system are obvious. Even if Sweden were not to receive any more immigrants, the number of children in pre- and compulsory school from immigrant homes would rise significantly during the coming years. At present, approximately 15% of all children and young people born in Sweden have at least one parent who was born abroad, in one of 130 different countries. For more than one-third of these second generation immigrants, both parents were born abroad. More than one-third of the children were of pre-school age by 1979. It is estimated that 60,000 of them spoke

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(1) For the sake of comparison, it should be noted that nearly half the total population in Sweden lives in the southern third of the country.

language another than Swedish at home (1) on a daily basis (2). Between 1975 -/9, the number of immigrant pupils (second generation and born abroad) in compulsory school rose from 30,000 to 86,400. Since the total enrolment at this level in 1979 was 1,043,300, this meant that 8.2% of the children at compulsory school spoke language another than Swedish at home (3). Gunnar Tingbjörn has estimated that in the year 2000, every third pupil in the compulsory school will have a home language other than Swedish (4).

The number of immigrant children in upper secondary school was 11,500 in 1979, approximately 4.5% of the total enrolment (5).

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(1) For the remainder of this section, the terms "first language", "second language" and "foreign language" will be used. First language for an immigrant in Sweden refers to that which he/she speaks at home. Second language, Swedish, is that which minorities must learn in order to earn a living, pursue education, buy food etc. A foreign language is one which is learned because it is enjoyable, because it enables one to partake of another country's literature, because it is necessary for conducting certain foreign relations etc.

(2) SOU 1982:43. Socialdepartementet (Social Department). Utredningen om språkminoriteter i förskoleåldern. "Språk- och kulturstöd för invandrar- och minoritetsbarn i förskoleåldern, sammanfattning") ("Language and Cultural Support for Immigrant and Minority Children of Pre-School Age, Summary"), p. 10.

(3) Statens Invandrarverk (National Board of Immigration and Naturalisation). (1980) Dokumentation. Statistik om invandring och invandrare (Statistics on Migration and Immigrants), p. 13 (Norrköping: Statens Invandrarverk).

(4) "Active bilingualism - the Swedish goal for immigrant children's language instruction" (University of Gothernburg, Department of Linguistics, SPRINS- project, mimeo).

(5) Statens Invandrarverk. Statistik om invandrare. pp. 13-14.

Official goal of active bilingualism

In 1975, when the Swedish parliament established its official objectives for immigrant policy, it voted unanimously to support the goal of active bilingualism for immigrant pupils' language learning. As Tingbjörn has explained, this must imply that immigrant pupils shall be able to use both their languages in all necessary and desirable situations on the level of a first language, ie both those situations which arise as a result of the demands of the immigrants surroundings, and also those in which they chose to participate. Their bilingualism should be a doublesided first language competence.

It is easy to see how the educational objective to facilitate active bilingualism stems from Sweden's overall official policy to provide immigrants freedom of choice with respect to maintaining their cultural and linguistic identities. Less obvious but equally important is the fact that bilingualism must also be the logical consequence of such policy guidelines in the national curriculum for the compulsory school as those which state (although in specific reference to instruction in the Swedish language):

> An important goal for Swedish language instruction is that it shall strengthen pupils' self confidence and esteem so they are not afraid to express themselves and advance their opinions. Instruction should be based on the pupils' earlier linguistic skills and experiences. All children must be able to feel that their language is adequate and that they can use their experiences and their own words while learning to read and write (1).

In addition, the national curriculum prescribes that:

> Pupils should be taught how language changes according to the purpose for which it is used, and the situation and social context in which it is employed. Pupils should be taught how, with the help of language, a person can influence his/her own situation as well as broader social developments (2).

In order for children's own first language to serve as the point of departure in their overall education, there must be supportive knowledge on the part of their teachers; knowledge not only of the mechanics of particular minority languages, but also some understanding of linguistic development both in the case of languages in which pupils are strong and those in which they are weak. Teachers must also be knowledgeable about socio-linguistic relationships. Teacher competence must in turn be encompassed by the widespread conviction of society at large that bilingualism and bicultural people, no matter how long they may live in the country, are of extraordinary importance for Sweden.

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(1) Skolöverstyrelsen. Läroplan för grundskolan, p. 133

(2) Ibid., p. 134

So far, the external conditions necessary for reaching the goals outlined above have not been firmly established in Sweden. The reason is not solely due to lack of goodwill on the part of Swedish authorities, teachers and parents. Rather, it is equally the result of a difficult complex of factors characterising the situation of immigrants on the one hand, and the nature of language development and instruction on the other.

Factors challenging attainment of biculturalism goal (1)

As far as the immigrant situation is concerned, the following are major challenges which must be faced when providing for their instruction in Swedish schools:

- Among the immigrant populations in Sweden, 140 different first languages are represented. Within many of these language groups are subgroups of different dialects, as well as cultural, educational, age and sex differences among speakers, all of which may influence patterns of learning and achievement.

- With few exceptions, immigrants have come to Sweden under external pressure, whether this be political, religious or labour-market related.

- With few exceptions, immigrants in Sweden intend one day to return to their former homelands.

- Many of the immigrants have had only a limited amount of education before coming to Sweden, little familiarity with language study in general and of their own language in particular.

- Immigrants may not be motivated to become bilingual in a situation where two weak languages are involved: Swedish is not a high prestige language (because few people speak it) outside Scandinavia, and in Sweden, immigrants' minority languages have low prestige in comparison with the majority Swedish.

In addition to these aspects are several principles of linguistic development which must be respected:

- A person can hardly become bilingual when educated solely in one language, and Swedish is the predominant language of instruction in Swedish schools. To educate pupils for active bilingualism, teachers must follow a carefully planned strategy of instruction in and about the two languages in question. That is, pupils must take Swedish language studies and home language studies. In addition, they must be able to receive some instruction in other subjects (eg geography, mathematics) through the medium of both languages.

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(1) Except for the final portion on training of teachers for the instruction of immigrants in their mother tongue, this section has been paraphrased from Gunnar Tingbjörn's presentation during the November 1984 Parent-School Association symposium and from this publication "Active bilingualism".

- Pre-school and compulsory school instruction must provide rich and structured linguistic stimulation in immigrant children's home languages during their entire school careers (from pre-school through upper-secondary) to compensate for the lack of linguistic stimulation in society at large.

- The immigrants' second language, Swedish, must be taught as a special subject, consistent with the pupils situation: Swedish is a second language.

A third set of difficulties encountered as active bilingualism is promoted in Swedish education concerns the particular type of linguistic pedagogical methods which have become tradition in Sweden, as well as the sheer availability of teachers trained to meet the demands imposed by the influx of immigrants into a country which has adopted active bilingualism as a goal.

There is a long tradition of instruction in modern foreign languages in Sweden, and during the decades since World War II, English has in fact been a required subject for all pupils. Instruction in other foreign languages is essentially voluntary. Foreign language instruction has been culturally motivated; that is, the use of foreign language in foreign affairs, in reading foreign literature etc is the driving interest. Language instruction has been closely regulated by Swedish teachers and textbook authors and taught during a relatively limited number of lessons per week.

Over the years, Swedish teachers have built up a fund of theoretical and methodological knowledge about how the Swedish language (primarily in written form) should be taught and developed, for children who have grown up learning Swedish naturally in a Swedish-speaking environment. Teachers have also become proficient in teaching foreign languages to pupils whose first language is Swedish. Instruction is based on pupils' earlier linguistic proficiency in Swedish, primarily, and is carried out in the foreign languages with this as the reference point in "contrastivity" while learning foreign words and phrases, despite the fact that it is purported to be taught using the direct method, ie without using Swedish, the language common to both pupils and teachers.

The foreign languages taught in Swedish schools are Germanic (English and German) Romance (French, Spanish) and Russian (from the Slavic group). All of these belong to the Indo-European language family and are closely or relatively closely related to Swedish. In contrast, several of the largest immigrant languages such as Finnish, Turkish and Hungarian, belong to entirely different language families. The problem is that the Swedes own studies of closely-related languages have often given them the impression that all foreign languages have a structure similar to Swedish. This impression often results in their underestimating the immigrants difficulties in learning Swedish; and further, their difficulty in developing bilingual skills in Swedish and in a language much different from it.

The complexity of immigrant instruction is indeed great, but the situation is aggravated by the fact that the number of immigrant pupils eligible and willing to receive instruction in their mother tongue has

increased dramatically during the past 15 years. In 1976, teacher training programmes for pre-school level were started for people who were bilingual in Swedish and either Finnish, Turkish, Greek or Spanish. Teacher training for primary teachers who had Finnish as a mother tongue had existed since 1974. However, there was such an immediate need for mother tongue teachers in other languages than Finnish and at other than primary level, that a parliamentary decision was taken in 1977 to enable mother tongue teachers to be appointed without having Swedish teaching certificates. Many of the teachers employed by virtue of this decision did have teaching certificates from their native countries, however. During the same year, new two-year courses for mother tongue teachers were initiated at the universities and colleges to qualify people for work at all levels, from pre-school to upper-secondary. By mid-1982, the language orientation of these programmes included Finnish, Greek, Turkish, Spanish, Serbo-Croatian, Danish, Arabic, Syriac, Polish and Macedonian.

By 1979/80, there were 3,384 mother tongue teachers working in compulsory and upper-secondary school, in 52 different home languages. Their number had quadrupled in five years and by 1980, they made up 3% of the total teacher corps in Sweden. 40% of the mother tongue teachers worked in Finnish. This group was followed in number by teachers in Spanish, German, Serbo-Croatian, English, Turkish, Greek and Polish, in order of decreasing magnitude (1).

At the compulsory school level, three different models evolved during the immediate period following the Swedish Government's decision in 1976 to require local education authorities to arrange auxiliary education for immigrant children. The models are the following:

- Immigrant pupils are taught together with Swedish pupils. The main teaching language is Swedish, but mother tongue instruction is given to immigrant pupils two to four hours per week in place of another subject.

- Immigrant pupils are taught in homogeneous language groups, whereby most of the teaching is initially conducted in the respective mother tongue, but successively shifts to Swedish.

- A group of immigrant pupils with the same mother tongue combine in a group with Swedish pupils to form a class in which immigrant pupils are taught (all subjects) by both a teacher speaking their mother tongue and a Swedish teacher.

A fourth alternative for the education of immigrant children is, of course, to teach them through the medium of Swedish, in regular classrooms alongside Swedish pupils. Whether one or the other of these four alternatives is chosen ultimately depends upon how many immigrant children present in any one school district speak the same languages, and how many immigrant children there are overall, in comparison with

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(1) Statistics in the above paragraphs are documented in S Opper. "Multiculturalism in Sweden: a case of assimilation and integration", Comparative Education. Vol. 19. No. 2. 1983: pp. 193-212.

the total number of Swedish children in the district. In other words, the choice of organisational model is not made solely upon the basis of the pedagogical needs of immigrant pupils. The uneven spread of the immigrant population geographically is thus of great consequence for their instruction in Swedish schools.

During upper-secondary school, students could receive instruction in their mother tongue by substituting it for one of the required foreign languages, except for English. Students at this level have also been entitled to study guidance in their mother tongue and to extra lessons in Swedish.

Quantity and quality of activity in immigrant pupils' first and second languages - insufficient

As Gunnar Tingbjörn has assessed the situation, most instruction in Swedish schools is conducted through the medium of Swedish, rather than partially through Swedish and partially through the medium of immigrant minority languages. Some remedial instruction is provided in the form of Swedish language courses, taught as if all students had this as their first language. Immigrant pupils may receive some hours instruction in their first (home) language, but rarely is this linked to and supportive of subject matter otherwise taught through the medium of Swedish. There is very little instruction available in Swedish as a second language. The end result is that, at present, both quantity and quality of meaningful language stimulation and activity in immigrant pupils' first and second languages are insufficient to allow them to achieve active bilingualism while attending Swedish schools.

Pupils with another first language than Swedish must receive significant portions of their instruction in their own first language for the following reasons, apart from the fact that the country has adopted an official policy of active bilingualism:

- Pupils must be able to understand what their teachers are trying to teach them.

- Pupils should feel secure with peers and teachers, in a familiar linguistic environment, in order to facilitate their continued learning.

- Pupils' achievements should be judged according to the particulars of their own situation, ie conditions which characterise their particular linguistic and cultural groups, whether it be in the majority or the minority.

- Requiring pupils to change languages (eg from home language to Swedish) during the time of their basic education in reading and writing imposes a serious strain upon them.

- Most immigrant families desire to return to their parents' home country.

- Instruction about a certain language is not sufficient. In order for pupils to be bilingual, instruction on a certain language must be combined with instruction through the medium of that language.

- At present, neither the amount of natural nor of regulated (through formal education) language stimulation in Sweden is sufficient with respect to minority languages.

Pupils with another first language than Swedish must also receive instruction in Swedish as a second language because:

- Swedish usually is the minority pupil's second language.

- Minority pupils should receive Swedish instruction on their own conditions, which are not the same as those for pupils with Swedish as a first language. This should allow all pupils to feel secure and develop self confidence.

- Swedish instruction for immigrant pupils must not be regarded as remedial instruction which, among other things, causes them to miss part of the regular instruction given through the medium of Swedish.

- Immigrant pupils' instruction in Swedish should be designed according to their particular learning requirements, taking into consideration their first language/home culture, their need for substantial oral and written skills training in Swedish in natural communication situations (eg buying vegetables at the market), their need to read literature in order to build up vocabulary and concepts related to cultural and social relations in Sweden. One must also take into consideration that immigrant children do learn some Swedish naturally by virtue of their living environment.

X. OUR CHILDREN AND THEIR LANGUAGES

Immigrant children in Swedish schools do not receive the consistent support they need to attain active bilingualism. Even in cases where provision is made eg for home language instruction or teaching of Swedish as a second language, the programmes to which children are subjected at one educational level are rarely consciously co-ordinated with the instructional programme at other levels. The immigrant child's educational career is marked more often than not by fragmented and inconsistent measures as he/she progresses from pre-school, to compulsory, to upper-secondary studies.

One must remember, however, that the official commitment to bilingual education and to having the schools actively preserve the varied cultural traditions of their pupils homes is only a decade old. During this same decade, there has been a substantial decline in the Swedish economy, and the educational sector has not been spared a succession of budgetary cutbacks. It is understandable that under such conditions of scarcity, teachers unions, for example, would not be totally supportive of extending educational budgets to cover the increasing cost of instruction in immigrants' first languages.

These and related problems undoubtedly stem as well from confusion arising from the complexity of immigrant instruction itself. As Gunnar Tingbjörn has pointed out, in comparison with the range of this difficult field of research, the number of researchers is extremely few. Individual investigations can make a disproportionately large impact, especially when they are thrown into the general social debate with the help of the mass media. This can confuse parent and policy maker alike.

As this report has borne witness to, there are many factors which influence the way in which immigrant pupils may be taught and the way in which they will benefit from what they have learned. The instructional context is different from one minority language/culture to the next, depending upon the size of that minority group in the local community, the extent to which their particular language is used outside the school, how long members of that group have lived in Sweden and why they emigrated in the first place. Pupils (and their parents) differ with respect to how well they know their own first language, and how long they have attended school in the country from which they emigrated. There is great variation among immigrant pupils - just as among Swedish - with respect to aptitudes, interests and motivation levels. Immigrant pupils particular motivation to achieve in Swedish schools may be affected by their parents' attitudes toward the country's school system, toward its official policy to promote active bilingualism, and the parents' views on the importance of learning Swedish. Whether or not immigrant pupils will be interested in preserving their respective first languages as well as learning Swedish will be influenced by how willing they are to be "different" from their Swedish peers. Should they opt for bilingualism, their ability to develop competence in their second language, Swedish, will be influenced by the degree of similarity between this and their first language, the extent to which they receive instruction about and through the medium of their first and second language, as well as the amount of natural stimulation they receive in these two languages outside school hours.

The experience, training, attitudes, talents, and instructional objectives of immigrant pupils teachers, and the content and quality of the curriculum will greatly affect pupils learning. The nature of textbooks and other course materials as well as the type of marking system employed will also govern pupils learning behaviours.

Identity and self-respect are two important concerns in optimising any child's cognitive, emotional and social development through the formal educational process. In its pilot project, the Swedish National Parent-School Association has kept these two concerns in focus as it has explored the implications of multicultural/multilingual programmes for the development of individuals. Implications for the structure of society are not unimportant, but they have been a secondary consideration. The association aims to contribute toward a secure and qualitatively sound environment for all pupils, to prepare them during childhood and adolescence for participation in society's intercultural arena. The symposium, videotape and supplementary study guide which have comprised the Swedish pilot project are intended to provide teachers, parents, pupils and others with a sound basis for making decisions related to questions of linguistic, perceptual, cognitive and emotional development and the importance of children's facility in their home language in this process.

Major themes from the symposium have been documented in the current report. Several of the points raised only briefly in this context are explicated in the study guide. They appear as well in the videotape, which has been filmed largely from the perspective of immigrants themselves as they react to various linguistic situations, both regulated (formal education) and natural. While viewing the film, some of which features researchers Johansson and Tingbjörn, the audience is encouraged to form opinions with respect to:

- Which language(s) immigrant or mixed immigrant-Swedish families should use at home.
- When children should start using their second language in everyday life.
- What type of pre-school (ie mono-, bi- or multilingual) is best for children.
- In which language children should first learn to read and write.
- Whether a child can learn two or more languages simultaneously.
- Whether it is advisable for a mother to speak one language with her child, while the father and other adults communicate with the same child in a different language.
- When children should learn a third language.

The videotape is divided into three parts, each of which may be viewed and considered separately. In the first part, children and their parents express their views on the use of language at home. The film opens in the midst of a group of three children who are bilingual in Finnish and Swedish. Speaking Swedish among themselves, they talk about what their languages mean to them. The scene concludes as they wish their mother goodnight in Finnish. Next, at home with a Chilean family, the parents insist upon speaking Spanish with their children in order to remain close to them and to share concepts from experiences outside the Swedish community. The viewer then listens in on a conversation between two Greek brothers in Sweden. The one is keen on maintaining his Greek in order to visit his father's parents in Greece. The other explains why it would be difficult for him to leave Sweden where he has become assimilated. This scene gives way to the next in which a Finnish mother and an English father living in Sweden insist that their son has a right to both cultures in his heritage. The child, also present, shifts easily from one language to the other, depending upon whether he speaks to mother or father. Finally, a Greek family whose children were born in Sweden, points out that it is important to read current books from Greece in order to keep their first language up to date.

The second part of the film depicts various modes of instruction about and through the medium of immigrant pupils' first and second languages. The viewer is able to follow a Macedonian boy to his pre-school in Gothenburg, experiencing along with him the transition from his mother's Greek as she asks whether he has finished brushing his

teeth so they may depart for school, to the Swedish of his teachers and peers. Strains of Spanish from a "mother tongue" instructor are heard as the pre-schoolers are given their swimming lesson. Several scenes later, immigrant children are shown learning Swedish as a foreign language. By reading newspaper articles, they become familiar with abstract concepts which they will meet again in their course books. In another vignette, an immigrant seeking advice on how to pursue his technical interests is counselled by his teacher to study Swedish, English and his own first language in addition to various technical subjects.

The third and final portion of the film is set in the Torne River Valley. After a historical sketch of this northernmost area in Sweden, the viewer is taken to the employment bureau where interviews are being conducted for jobs where bilingualism is obviously an advantage. During the next scene, one listens along with a daughter as her mother relates when she herself was a child, her parents spoke only Swedish with her. She heard them speak Finnish among themselves. After having left to live for some time away from her home, the woman has returned and to her surprise has found that she could understand the Finnish spoken around her. She encourages her daughter to take "mother tongue" instruction in Finnish. The film concludes with scenes from a classroom where pupils dance and sing in Same, then speak spontaneously among themselves in a blend of Finnish and Swedish as they paint a poster. These are the children from Johansson's experimental classrooms. The viewer is told about the ability of some of these children to achieve above the national average on standardised tests in Swedish.

Certainly food for thought.

PROGRAMME

SEMINAR ON "THE FUNCTION OF HOME AND PARENTS IN AN INTERCULTURAL SOCIETY"

Handelns Gård, Lidingö Sweden 9 - 11 November 1984

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9 Nov

12.00	Lunch
12.45	Opening of seminar: Bengt Andersson, National Parent School Association
13.00	Introduction: "Toward An Intercultural Society": Kjell Öberg, former Director General, Swedish National Immigrant Board
14.00	"Contacts Between Parents And School In An Intercultural Perspective": Mai Beijer, National Parent School Association
15.00	Coffee break
15.30	"Living in Different Cultures": Lenore Arnberg, University of Stockholm, Jaqueline Garefelt, Stockholm School Board
17.00	Dinner
18.00	Presentation of Council of Europe's work in Project No.7 "The Education And Cultural Development of Migrants": Bertil Jakobsson, National Swedish Board of Education
18.30	Presentation of educational program "Our Children And The Languages": Mai Beijer, Raija Engman

10 Nov

09.00	"Children With Many Languages": Henning Johansson, Professor, University of Umeå
10.30	"Home Languages And The School Language": Gunnar Tingbjörn, Professor, University of Gothenburg
12.00	Lunch
13.00	Proposals for cooperation between the school and majority groups in society; group work on "Our Children And The Languages"
19.00	Dinner, with intercultural entertainment program

11 Nov

09.00	Accounting group work - Plenary discussion of comments and proposals
11.30	Summing up and conclusion of the seminar: Susan Opper, Council of Europe rapporteur
12.00	"Looking forward": Eva Sternberg, President, National Parent School Association
13.00	Lunch

Participants of seminar on "THE FUNCTION OF HOME AND PARENTS IN AN INTERCULTURAL SOCIETY"

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